

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 038241

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF, ZA, US

SUBJECT:SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINIS-
TER: NAMIBIA

REF: SECTO 02004
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1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
MWALE AT USUN FEBRUARY 13, SECRETARY VANCE DESCRIBED THE KEY
UNRESOLVED ISSUES STANDING IN THE WAY OF AN INTERNATIONALLY
ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT, STATED THE FIVE'S POSITION ON THESE,
TOLD MWALE WHAT NEXT STEPS WE HAVE IN MIND, AND ASKED FOR
FRONTLINE SUPPORT. MWALE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE
EXTENT OF THE WALVIS BAY PROBLEM (REFTEL) AND INDICATED
WILLINGNESS BY ZAMBIA TO BE HELPFUL ON THIS MATTER. HE DID
NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON THE ISSUE OF THE RESIDUAL SOUTH
AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE, DENIED THERE WERE ANY NAMIBIAN

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ZAMBIA, AND SAID ZAMBIA COULD NOT AGREE TO UN MONITORING OF SWAPO BASES IN ZAMBIAN TERRITORY. HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD RAPIDLY TRY TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES IF POSSIBLE AND URGED US TO TAKE OUR PROPOSAL TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. END SUMMARY.

2. MOST OF THE ONE-HOUR CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND MWALE, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ZAMBIAN PERMREP KONIE,

WAS DEVOTED TO NAMIBIA. RHODESIA AND ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION ALSO WERE DISCUSSED (SEPTELS). REGARDING NAMIBIA, THEY COVERED THE FOLLOWING POINTS.

3. WALVIS BAY: THE SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT WALVIS BAY, A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE TERRITORY, AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ARE THE KEY REMAINING ISSUES. OTHER ISSUES NEED TO BE CLARIFIED, BUT DEFINITELY THE THREE HE MENTIONED HAD TO BE RESOLVED IF THERE WAS TO BE A SETTLEMENT. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER WALVIS BAY COULD NOT BE DEALT WITH NOW BUT MUST BE LEFT UNTIL AFTER INDEPENDENCE. THE ISSUE IS TOO CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLICATED FOR QUICK RESOLUTION, AND IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO ALLOW IT TO INTERFERE WITH THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE. HE WANTED MWALE TO KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT NO SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE ADDED TO THOSE ALREADY IN WALVIS BAY, AND THAT NAMIBIANS RESIDING IN WALVIS WOULD VOTE IN THE NAMIBIAN ELECTIONS. HE ADDED THAT THE RUMOR THAT THE WEST WANTED TO USE WALVIS BAY FOR A NAVAL BASE WAS ENTIRELY UNFOUNDED.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD URGED SAM NUJOMA TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE UNTIL AFTER INDEPENDENCE. SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION FROM ZAMBIA AND THE OTHER FRONTLINE STATES WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT. MWALE RESPONDED THAT IF WALVIS BAY WAS INDEED A MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO AN AGREED SETTLEMENT, ZAMBIA COULD CONSIDER THE NEED TO HAVE THE ISSUE DEFERRED UNTIL LATER. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF OUR WRITTEN PROPOSAL WERE REVISED TO REFLECT SOMEHOW THAT THE MATTER WOULD BE TAKEN UP IN THE FUTURE.

5. POLITICAL PRISONERS: IN RESPONSE TO MWALE'S QUESTION ABOUT WHAT ISSUES THE SOUTH AFRICANS CONSIDERED CRUCIAL, THE SECRETARY MENTIONED WALVIS BAY, THE RESIDUAL MILITARY FORCE, AND POLITICAL PRISONERS. MWALE THEN STATED THAT CONTRARY TO WHAT BOTHA HAD SAID, THERE WERE NO NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ZAMBIA. HE REPEATED WHAT WE HAVE HEARD PREVIOUSLY FROM KAUNDA AND OTHER ZAMBIANS ABOUT THE STATUS OF NAMIBIANS WHO HAD ONCE BEEN DETAINED IN ZAMBIA (I.E., THEY EITHER HAVE BECOME REFUGEES OR HAVE REJOINED

SWAPO).

6. THE ROLE OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (SR): MWALE SAID THAT "AT ONE POINT" THE FRONTLINE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE AMOUNT OF EFFECTIVE POWER THE SR WOULD HAVE. THEY WANTED TO SEE THE UN "SHOULDER GREATER RESPONSIBILITY." THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE ARE WORKING ON A PAPER NOW WHICH WILL CLARIFY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SR AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. HE BELIEVED THAT SWAPO WOULD FIND THE CLARIFICATION USEFUL.

7. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS: THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT BOTHA HAD RIGID INSTRUCTIONS TO HOLD TO A FIGURE OF 3,000 TROOPS TO REMAIN IN NORTHERN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. BOTHA HAD SAID THAT ONLY 1400 OF THESE WOULD BE COMBAT TROOPS. WE HAD NOTED THAT OF OUR PROPOSED 1500, ALL COULD BE COMBAT TROOPS, THEREBY MEETING THE LEVEL OF COMBAT TROOPS PROPOSED BY SOUTH AFRICA. EITHER CIVILIANS OR UN PERSONNEL COULD HANDLE THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT IN PLACE OF THE 1600 LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TROOPS PROPOSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS. BOTHA HAD AGREED TO CONSIDER OUR IDEA, BUT SOUTH AFRICA'S INSISTENCE ON THE RETENTION OF EIGHT

SMALL BASES ALONG THE BORDER REMAINED A POINT OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIVE AND THE SAG. AFTER DESCRIBING SWAPO'S POSITION ON CONFINING THE RESIDUAL FORCES AT KARASBERG, THE SECRETARY TOLD MWALE THAT HE DID NOT FIND NUJOMA'S ARGUMENT ON THIS ISSUE CONVINCING. THE CONFINEMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ONE OR TWO BASES IN THE NORTH UNDER CLOSE UN SUPERVISION WAS SUFFICIENT PROTECTION. HE SAID HE HOPED MWALE WOULD GIVE THOUGHT TO THIS AND THAT ZAMBIA WOULD USE ITS GOOD OFFICES WITH SWAPO.

8. MONITORING SWAPO FORCES: AF/S DIRECTOR BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT OF MONITORING SWAPO FORCES IN ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA. MWALE SAID THAT THIS WAS A QUESTION INVOLVING ZAMBIA'S SOVEREIGNTY. MOREOVER, ZAMBIA HAD ONLY PROVIDED SWAPO WITH A REAR BASE AND WITH ADVISORS; IT HAD CAUSED NO ONE ANY DIFFICULTIES, HE MAINTAINED. HE SAID HE DID NOT THINK CONFIDENTIAL

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IT WOULD BE IN ANYONE'S INTEREST "TO PRESSURIZE US ON THIS." AMBASSADOR KONIE OBSERVED THAT IF SWAPO FORCES OUTSIDE NAMIBIA SHOULD BE MONITORED, IT COULD ALSO BE SAID THAT, WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE MONITORED. THE SECRETARY SAID THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS TOOK THE POSITION THAT IF THEIR FORCES WERE CONFINED AND MONITORED, SWAPO FORCES

SHOULD EQUIVALENTLY BE MONITORED. HOWEVER HE UNDERSTOOD THE LOGIC OF THE ZAMBIAN ARGUMENT ON THIS MATTER.

9. COMPOSITION OF UN FORCE: MWALE SAID THAT SWAPO HAD ASKED THE GOZ WHETHER ZAMBIA WOULD PROVIDE TROOPS FOR A

PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN NAMIBIA. DISCUSSING THIS WITH THE SECRETARY, MWALE GAVE A CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS NOT AT ALL KEEN ON THE IDEA.

10. NEXT STEPS: THE SECRETARY SAID WE HOPED TO PROVIDE SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA WITH CLARIFICATIONS OF CERTAIN POINTS OF OUR PROPOSAL BY WEDNESDAY OR THURSDAY. WE WOULD DO THIS INFORMALLY WITH THE TWO PARTIES AND HOPED TO RECEIVE THEIR INFORMAL REACTION QUICKLY. MWALE ASKED IF THE FIVE PLANNED TO GO BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THE SECRETARY SAID HE THOUGHT WE MUST DO THIS. TIME WAS SHORT. IF WE LOST MOMENTUM, WE WOULD SEE A SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNAL SOLUTION. MWALE RESPONDED THAT HE SUPPORTED US FULLY ON THIS, AND AGREED THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO MOVE RAPIDLY. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HOPED THAT SWAPO RECOGNIZED THIS.

11. THE FUTURE OF SWAPO GUERRILLA FORCES: MWALE ASKED IF WE HAD THOUGHT ABOUT THE USE OF SWAPO TROOPS IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD, SIMILAR TO THE PROPOSED USE OF PATRIOTIC FRONT TROOPS AS THE BASIS OF A ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY. THE SECRETARY ANSWERED THAT NAMIBIA WAS A DIFFERENT SITUATION AND THAT THE QUESTION OF A NAMIBIAN ARMY SHOULD BE RESOLVED
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AFTER INDEPENDENCE. MWALE SAID HIS CONCERN WAS WHAT "ALL THOSE SOLDIERS" WOULD DO. HOW WOULD THEY BE ABSORBED? THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD RAISED AN IMPORTANT QUESTION WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. VANCE

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